

SECRET

1 July 1949

1 M-191

CIN/ORE FAR EAST PACIFIC BRANCH

1. An intensive file search participated in by various components of CIA has revealed the following intelligence relating to activities of and judgments concerning Ho Chi Minh which are later than 1945.
2. For purposes of rather precise analysis this subject has been divided into eight categories, each of which is preceded by a CIA Comment.

State, DIA declassification & release instructions on file  
Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

Re

A0

1 July 1949

a. Is Ho now a Communist?

CIA COMMENT

The Moscow radio and press and Soviet-controlled radio stations have referred to Ho as a Communist. Ho himself, has not attempted to make this point clear nor is there any evidence available which would completely prove this point one way or the other. However, Moscow's adoption of Ho as a Communist and the fact that the key positions in his government are occupied by avowed or known Communists argue for CIA's present assumption that Ho also is a Communist.

~~SECRET~~

OKE  
1 July 1949

a. & f.

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, from Khabarovsk, in Korean to Korea,  
15 June 1949 - excerpt.

"The democratic Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, headed by Ho Chi Minh, leader of the people and member of the Communist Party, has been very successful in reconstructing the country along democratic lines."

~~SECRET~~

elea

000

~~SECRET~~

a. & f.

ORE  
1 July 1949

Source: FBIIB, Moscow, Soviet Far East Service in Korean, 17 June 1948 summary  
Weekly Survey, Vol. 1, No. 50, 25 June 1948, p. H5 to Korea

"The capabilities of General Xuan are weighted in the balance with those of Ho Chi Minh and found wanting. It is pointed out that Ho is recognized, even by William Bullitt as a man of ability. (Bullitt's article in LIFE, December 1947 is quoted) Ho is proof of the general rule that 'only from among Communists come the most thorough fighting men.' The Ho Government is praised for the diversity of opinion it represents and for the solidarity of its hostility toward the French."

ORE  
1 July 1949

a.

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, from Moscow, in Japanese, to Japan,  
23 June 1948 - excerpt from commentary of Gremlin - Daily Report,  
Section #339-48 PCC-3

"The French authorities call the Viet Namese People's Government, headed by Ho Chi Minh a government inclined toward Communist. The French authorities are planning to destroy the Ho Chi Minh Government by taking advantage of the world-wide anti-Communist movement.

"However Ho Chi Minh's Viet Namese People's Government is supported by all patriots, including democrats, socialists, nationalists, Christians, Buddhists, Communists, and others. ....Ho Chi Minh, who is respected by the Viet Namese masses, is the only Communist (representative) in the Government."

1 July 1949  
ORE

7A6

a.

DAILY WORKER, 29 June 1949, New York - article by Joseph Starobin -- extract:

"Among the 21 million people of Indochina, the leading and governing force for almost four years has been the revolutionary united front, the Viet Minh, led by the Communist leader, Ho Chi Minh."

Re

A00

ORE  
30 June 1949

a.

DB 4975; 16 July 1947

Origin: Canton

Canton Comment to Para 1: One of the greatest puzzles in regard to Indochina is: "How Communist is Ho Chi Minh and to what extent does he follow Moscow's orders?" Various sources differ radically on this point. French, Vietnam Nationalist, and most Chinese Nationalist sources take it for granted that Ho is privately just as Communist as ever; but these sources have so far failed to produce concrete evidence to that effect. Pro-Vietminh sources, however, maintain that Ho has abandoned his Communism. Ho invites neutral journalists and observers to inspect for themselves. Even CHANG Fa-k'uei states that he has become convinced that Ho is no longer much of a Communist and certainly does not follow Moscow's orders. The logic, however, remains: once a man has been through the Moscow training and has acted for a lengthy period as an agent of Moscow, there are only two possible sources -- either a clear and public renunciation of Communism la Krivetsky, which Ho has not made, or continuance of Moscow-directed activities).

Canton Comment to Para 2: Ho is constantly trying to convince the outside world of his non-Communism, but has so far refused to commit himself to a definite and open renunciation of Communism. Consequently, except for duly authorized official pronouncements, minor officials find it safer to avoid the subject).

Re

AO

324879

Q. Is now a Communist

Source: FDB, Indochinese Press Extracts No 6/49 dated 24 Mar 1949  
Saigon, L'Union Francaise, daily French language newspaper,  
29 Dec 1948  
(excerpts)  
page 31 - 32

The Ho Chi Minh Government makes a point of strongly denying the fact that it is Communist for it knows such a label would alienate certain Western countries whose sympathies it wishes to retain. On 11 November 1945, 3 months after coming to power, the government of the "Democratic Republic of Viet Nam" loudly declared that the Indochinese Communist Party had dissolved of its own accord.

This dissolution was a mere propaganda maneuver. Vietnamese Communists merely took cover. Quite recently, a congress of the Indochinese Communist Party was held in the north of Viet Nam. A photograph taken there shows men known to be Communist partisans of long standing. The words "Cong San Dong Duong" (Indochinese Communist Party) appear on the banner. The hammer and sickle appears on the flag with the Viet Minh star.

The Ho Chi Minh Government does not ignore the existence of the Party. On the contrary, a few of the more recent events will prove that there are Vietnamese Communists in the ranks of the Viet Minh who influence the acts of the rebel government.

A recent circular ordered all echelons of the nation to celebrate the USSR's October Revolution. On this occasion, Viet Minh propagandists were to make a parallel between that revolution and the present fight against the French. Among the slogans to be used were: "Complete support to the USSR," "Long Live the success of the October Revolution," "Long live the victory of the antifascist Democratic Front."

A sort of camouflage was still maintained, however; only the official circles of the "Association for the Study of Marxism" could organize public demonstrations. In Viet Minh circles, members already known as "former Communists" could celebrate the October Revolution "privately."

The following circular was distributed in October to all ranks of the Viet Minh administrative machine: "The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam regrets to announce that Zhdanov, Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and member of the Current Affairs Committee of the Comintern, died on 31 August 1948." The Viet Minh was to organize a ceremony in honor of "Comrade Zhdanov."

Another circular indicates the recent attitude toward the US. It was addressed to all the "comrades" of the Viet Minh: "We are faced with a situation which forces us to instigate against the US a profound and extended movement which will reach all levels of the masses. As for those who propagandize in favor of the US, arrest them immediately. Accuse them of espionage to the profit of the enemy (but never speak of the US)."

Quantities of such documents fall into the hands of the French authorities daily. The Viet Minh know, without admitting it, that they can fool no one. They are no longer taking the trouble to disguise their doctrine, which is international Communism.—  
Editorial

- a. Is now a Communist
- b. Contact with the Soviet Union
- c. Support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FIDB, Rpt No dated 22 Dec 1948  
Typewritten copy, in French, received from American Consulate,  
Hanoi  
(Farewell speech made by High Commissioner Bollaert in Hanoi  
on 19 Sept 1948)  
(excerpts)  
page 1 - 2

"Previously, many Vietnamese patriots rallied to the colors of a party which claimed to be fighting for the independence and unity of the country. Now it is being shown more and more clearly that these patriots have been the dupes of deceitful propaganda. When I arrived in Indochina, I had the feeling that in some quarters, the demand for independence covered whisperings of which it was preferred that I remain ignorant. That was why, in full agreement with the Government of the Republic, I remained so cautious when questioned. I did not wish an independence, rashly granted, to become slavery in the hands of a party which was nationalist only to win favor. Events have justified my caution by unmasking a conspiracy which extends far beyond the bounds of Viet Nam and Indochina. While in the North in the confines of China and the USSR, formidable bastions of totalitarian ideology were being organized, in Southeast Asia, ring-leaders were hastening to spread chaos in answer to a watchword which becomes less and less of a mystery each day as events unfold. Because it is necessary to the ulterior interests of the Asiatic Cominform that this portion of Asia be sacked, disturbances are widespread in the Philippines, Siam, Malaya, the Indies, Indonesia, and Burma. Nationalist Movements, they say. But how then do you explain the fact that these movements are unleashed in Burma just at the time it is celebrating its independence? How do you explain what is happening in the Philippines and in Siam, which are independent states? How do you account for the fact that guerrilla fighting has not ceased in Viet Nam since the Ha Long Bay Agreement and the approval of this agreement by the Government of France? How do you explain the fact that Viet Minh, instead of rallying to those who had made its slogans become actualities, redoubled its violence against a government which had obtained independence and unity?

I say to you: the proof is now before us. And no longer does anyone have a right to be mistaken about it. The recent conferences held by the Asiatic Cominform, under the European Cominform, the synchronization of disturbances skilfully propagated in a group of peaceful nations, the fact that independence produces no change in the nature of this agitation unless to make it still worse, show only too clearly that the guerrilla forces with which we have to cope are not nationalist. Many of its leaders go far beyond

00

the bounds of Viet Nam in their program, which they went elsewhere to get, in their international ~~connectional~~ connections, and in their field of action. Indeed, the conflict which is devastating the country has changed in meaning; or, rather, as its disguise had gradually been stripped away, its true meaning is now revealed.

The present conflict, which is part of a plan of world-wide upheaval could not have as its goal the independence and unity of Viet Nam. Viet Nam's interests unquestionably appear very insignificant to those responsible for the pursuit of a combat that ruins its inhabitants, darkens its economic future, and shatters the most sacred framework of Vietnamese society. In this tragic undertaking, the Vietnamese are merely an instrument in the service of a cause which is not their own. Their country is not an end but a means which is being abused: it is a battlefield chosen by those forces which, all over the world and always under cover of dissimulation, have resolved in the name of a partisan ideology to annihilate the defenders of order, sound national traditions, and that most precious of all blessings, individual liberty.

Re

AC

a. Is now a Communist

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 9 Jun 1949  
Saigon, Le Populaire d'Indochine, daily French language  
newspaper, 13 May 1949  
(excerpts)  
page 2

"Ho Chi Minh's Communist allegiance renders him utterly unacceptable for inclusion in any loyal nationalist government, and he must not be so honored." — Louis Vaucelle

Q. Is now a Communist

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 13 May 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 15 Apr 1949  
(extracts)  
page 1

Jacques Chegary gives a first-hand account of the results of the Viet Minh scorched-earth policy in Son Tay. He reports:

"This systematic destruction takes place in all regions occupied by the Viet Minh, who as agents of a foreign ideology, are wholly indifferent to the sufferings they inflict on the Vietnamese people."

Re

A0

Q. Is now a Communist

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 15 Apr 1949  
Saigon, L'Union Francaise, daily French language newspaper,  
8 Mar 1949  
(full report)  
page 1

Radio Viet Minh has announced that the Lien Hiep Quoc Gia Viet Nam (Vietnamese Popular Rally) has merged with the Viet Minh to "unify all Vietnamese parties participating in Viet Nam's armed resistance."

The announced merger, with its implication of the dissolution of the Viet Minh front, is apparently designed to conceal the Viet Minh's Communist aspect and to make it appear that the armed resistance is the work, not of a single party, but of a national front.

Re

A0

Q. Is now a Communist

Source: FDB, Rpt No  
Paris, Horizon Vietnamien, weekly French language newspaper,  
21 May 1949  
(excerpt)  
page 2

To give Communist Ho Chi Minh a place in the Government will not isolate Viet Nam; it will amount to choosing Communism. Ho can have no place in a Vietnamese government which must join Western democracy against Communism. --- Hoang Van Co

a. Is now a Communist.

Source: Newsweek, April 25, 1949. Radio interview between correspondent Harold Isaacs and Ho Chi Minh. (The following exchanges represent those portions of the interview which are at all relevant; the others are omitted as being unrevealing).

Q. Do you think recent events in China are favorable to the cause of Vietnamese independence? A. Vietnam's independence depends always on her own strength. Like other countries, Vietnam will be more or less affected by the China events. Only the future can tell in what way.

Q. To your knowledge has the French Communist Party taken any steps to hinder France's war against Vietnam? A. No.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the chief underlying cause of the tension between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.? A. Misunderstanding is the cause.

Q. Do you think conflict between them is inevitable? A. I do not think conflict is inevitable.

Q. What do you think of America's role and policy in Asia now? A. As far as Vietnam is concerned, we are sorry to see American arms being supplied to French troops to murder our folk and destroy our land.

Q. Do you think Vietnam or any other Asian country can develop in these times free of the influence of either of Russia or America? A. Yes.

Q. What do you think of the one-party system of politics? A. Good, if the party is good. Otherwise, it is bad.

Q. The Vietnam regime is constantly being described as "Communist" or "Communist-controlled". What do you think? A. Pure French propaganda. Our government is composed of representatives of many parties, Catholic, Democratic, Socialist, Marxist, one prince, and many non-party men.

Q. Have you any fear of Vietnam becoming anybody's satellite? A. No, I have no fear.

Q Is now a Communist  
G Material support from Chinese Communists

25

Source: FDB, Rpt No  
Hong Kong, Hsin-sheng Wan-pao, daily Chinese language newspaper,  
23 May 1949  
(excerpts)  
page 1

Ho Chi Minh, Communist leader of anti-French forces in Viet Nam, has stated that the struggle against the French has entered the third and final stage. He added that any rumors that his forces were receiving material aid from the Chinese and Russian Communists were pure fabrications of French colonial die-hards.

However, the French suspect that Chinese Communist forces, from their base in Hai-nan, are already aiding Ho. It is only 15 hours by junk across the Gulf of Tonkin to Indochina. Moreover, except for a portion of Kwangsi, the Chinese territory bordering on Indochina is already a CCF stronghold. While there are numerous armed KMT guerrillas in Kwangtung and Kwangsi who are opposed to the Ho Government, cooperation between Viet Minh partisans and CCF in this area is highly possible.

Re

AOL

25  
a. Is now a Communist

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 26 May 1949  
Saigon, L'Union Francaise, daily French language newspaper,  
6 May 1949  
(full report)  
page 1

Paris — L'Epoque has published a statement made by a "nationalist resistance fighter" to the paper's special correspondent in Indochina, Bernard Barreges, regarding the possibilities of the withdrawal of nationalist elements from the Viet Minh forces. The unidentified informant is quoted as stating: "Now that Bao Dai has won independence, we nationalists have no further cause for remaining in the resistance together with the Communists. We should leave, but that is almost impossible. Maybe luck will help. However, let us not delude ourselves. Not more than 10 percent, at most, of the resistance forces will be able to break away."

4 Is now a Communist

400

Source: Christian Sceince Monitor, August 9, 1948.

"How far Ho Chi Minh today represents nationalist interests in Indochina and how far he follows the orders of an outside power is one of the most discussed questions in South Asiatic politics. Ho Chi Minh never has denied that he formerly was a Communist and that he received his political instruction in one of the Moscow Comintern schools. But returning to his native country, he declared: 'I was a Communist before. I am no longer one. I am now a member of the Vietnamese family and nothing else.'"

7A0

CONFIDENTIAL

a. Is a Communist.

Source: SD T-70, Saigon, March 18, 1949. SD Control #7373.

Mr. Vang, Minister of Agriculture in the Xuan government, declared, during a recent discussion with French officials and the US Consul General in Saigon on the possibility of the proposed Bao Dai Government's army replacing French armed forces, that (to quote from Consul General Abbott's telegram) "Ho Chi Minh prepared make patriotic gesture exiling himself in Communist China. Remaining hard core around Giap could then be 'liquidated'."

CONFIDENTIAL

a. Is now a Communist

Source: New York Times, May 22, 1949; dateline: Bangkok, May 21.

"Ho Chi Minh, often referred to as a Communist, was asked [In writing by United Press] whether he favored Communism or had been a Communist.

'When I was young,' he replied, 'I studied Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, as well as Marxism. There's something in each doctrine...'

Asked if his government had received material aid from Communists in China and Russia, he replied:

'That's French colonialist bluffing propaganda, pure and simple.' "

Q. Is now a Communist

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 24 May 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 3 May 1949  
(excerpt)  
page 1

"It is not true that the Viet Minh has sole claim to patriotic motives," he said. "While there are nationalists within its camp, there are also nationalists on the other side. The Viet Minh nationalists are dominated by a Communist minority, which under the guise of national defense, is pursuing an international, or rather, Soviet-instigated revolutionary scheme. A split between the two groups is by no means inconceivable." — Paul Bastid

a. Is now a Communist.

Source: SD T-265, Saigon, December 13, 1948. SD Control #4257

"La Chevrotiere editor of Union Francaise, organ French colonialists, in startling editorial December 11, advocates agreement with Ho Chi Minh. Defending old argument that to end a war one must treat with the enemy, he argues alternative is complete destruction of enemy as of Hitler. Latter appears difficult, if not impossible, case Ho. 'What good is a treaty with Bao-Dai or Xuan if guerilla warfare continues and we must maintain our expeditionary force Indochina? This is problem to be faced by French Cabinet and Pignon. Later has recently seen Xuan and followers but not Ho.' Astonishing feature article is absence any mention Communist problem by writer who in past has fulminated almost daily this subject and against Viet Minh. Most credible explanation change face of several well-informed journalists is belief local business interest that only power which might keep Chinese Communist Army out of Indochina is Ho Chi Minh. Thus immediate agreement with Ho essential..."

Re

SECRET

A0

a. Is a Communist

Source: Air Mail No. 100, Saigon, July 5, 1948

"...The Saigon Socialists (of whom Louis Caput is one of the leaders) have not abandoned their sympathies for Ho Chi Minh and included in their resolution: (1) A 'striking homage' to M. Bollaert 'for having risked unpopularity through trying, by all means possible, to establish contact with President Ho Chi Minh,' (2) a demand that negotiations be conducted between France and the 'authentic representatives of the Vietnam, particularly those of the resistance,' (3) an offer to President Ho Chi Minh to act as mediators with the High Commissioner and the French Government for an armistice or truce."

Rele

100

ORE

a. Is Ho Chi Minh a Communist?

Source: FBIB Daily Report, Far East, No. 96, 19 May 1949  
Dispatch in English Morse from Viet Nam Station VNA2 (Viet Minh),  
May 16, 1949, 9:00 A.M., EST--R

(Excerpts)

(Editorial Roundup)

"The MALAY TRIBUNE:

"The Ho-Chi-Minh Government is far too strongly entrenched. Ho is a Communist but thanks to the Stupidity of French colonial policy he and his government are regarded by his people--he is reputed to control 18 million Viet Namese--as the repository of 200... . He is idolized in Viet Nam and non-Communists and nationalists look to his Government for salvation."

ORE

Comment: It is perhaps significant that the Viet Minh radio was permitted to broadcast allegations that Ho is a Communist, contained in a Chinese middle-of-the-road Malay paper.

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25X1C

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

SECRET

ORE  
30 June 1949

a.

Source: Report No. R-160-47 from Assistant Military Attaché, NANKING, China, dated 24 March 1947 on the subject of: "WHO'S WHO PERSONALITIES IN FRENCH INDO-CHINA"

.....Here is a personal description of Ho Chi Minh by a high French official who on many occasions during Franco-Vietnamese relations talked "several times a day" with the Vietminh party president:

"He is a very attractive and difficult personality. He is most intelligent and possessed of a broad spirit. While he has been a political party chief, I do not think he has ever been chief of a government. There is no one chief of the Vietnam Government but several members - as in Russia. I do not think Ho has ever been a free man. He is a very good propagandist - in many ways a genius in this respect. In his real mind he may be a conspirator - he has lived a long time in China and Siam. He is very cunning and a first class actor. I believe that while Ho has always had the same desire as other members of the party - total independence and the destruction of France's position in Indochina - he is more moderate."

**REI**

ORR  
30 June 1949

a.

Source: Extract from Enclosure to Despatch No. 2088 of September 16, 1947 from the American Embassy at London, on the subject of: "British Foreign Office Report on Ho Chi-minh"

"It will be observed that while the enclosed memorandum contains a good deal of information on Ho's past affiliations with the Kremlin and the Comintern, the Foreign Office finds it "extremely difficult to estimate to what extent his policy is now guided by Communist rather than purely nationalist aims."

...He moved into Tonking in 1944, and after the Japanese surrendered the following year he seized power and established the Republic of Viet Nam. It is extremely difficult to estimate to what extent his policy is now guided by Communist rather than purely nationalist aims. There is some reason for surmising that he himself is mainly intent on establishing the freedom of his country, but that while he was in France in 1946 the extremist members of his party took the opportunity to divert Viet Minh policy into more Communistic channels. ~~and therefore~~

State, DIA declassification & release instructions on file

leia

SECRET

00

ORE  
30 June 1949

a.

Source: Despatch No. 6166 of September 16, 1946, from the American Consulate at Paris, on the subject of: "Ho Chi-min"

.....As reported in my despatch No. 6131, he denied that he is a Communist. Whether he is or not, I do not know, although the French in general contend that he definitely is a Communist. He told me that he had at one time studied Marxism but that he is not a Moscow fellow-traveler.

PROPERTY

25X1C

**Next 1 Page(s) In Document Exempt**

ORE  
30 June 1949

a.

Foreign Service Report #1

Report on Origin of Viet Minh League (prepared by James L. O'Sullivan)

Extracts:

Organization

Ho promptly established on September 2nd, 1945, a provisional government largely composed of members of the Viet Minh League, who were also associated with the Communist Party.

During 1944, the Dan Chu Dang, or Democratic Party, was formed. There is reason to believe that it was inspired by Ho Chi Minh to capture the intellectuals the moderates, and the middle class, particularly the Catholics, who would have a hard time aligning themselves with a group which was admittedly communistic. The history of its leaders since the party's founding indicates that the most important ones have a high personal regard for Ho Chi Minh and probably under no circumstances would oppose him on any fundamental issue.

The Dan Chu Dang was no sooner founded than it entered the Viet Minh Front where it remains to this day. In recent months, there has been some growth toward an entity of its own. This is probably another effort to catch the Catholic block which probably could break any government to which it was actively opposed.

With the Chinese troops in occupation of Indochina and a civil war brewing in northern China, Ho apparently decided the word Communist was extremely unpopular. Therefore, on November 30, 1946, the Dong Duong Cong San Dang dissolved itself. Its members were distributed among the various leagues and parties which formed the Viet Minh Front. Since that date, the Communist Party as such has not functioned openly in Indochina.

1 July 1949

b. Direct Contact with the Soviet Union

CIA COMMENT

This file search has revealed no intelligence report that Ho Chi Minh has been in direct contact with the Soviet Union during the period 1945-49. No intelligence report is available which confirms any direct contact with the Soviet Union by any Vietnamese associated with Ho. There is no evidence as yet that Ho is receiving current directives either from Moscow, China or the Soviet Legation in Bangkok. CIA takes the view that Moscow currently has decided that as long as the situation in Indochina remains favorable from its standpoint that it will remain completely circumspect in its contact with the area.

lea

SECRET  
006

## 2. Contact with the Soviet Union

Source: FDB, Indochinese Press Extract No 3/49 dated 31 Jan 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 2 Dec 1948  
(full report)  
page 7

Hanoi--The Ho Chi Minh government radio has announced that Tran Van Giau, who reportedly directed the Ho Chi Minh delegation in Bangkok until recently, has returned to Tonkin. According to rumors circulating in Hanoi, Giau made a trip to Moscow and after his stay in the Soviet capital he returned to Tonkin, where he attended a meeting recently organized by the Vietnamese Communist Party.

te

~~SECRET~~

A00

b.

ORE  
30 June 1949

Source: Extract from Despatch No. 195 from the American Consulate General at Saigon, Indochina, on the subject of: "Soviet Policy in Southeast Asia" dated November 5, 1948.

The Communist led Vietminh has not yet adopted the violent anti-American line followed by most Communist parties throughout the world, although there are many indications that this is only on the surface and that the standard anti-American line is being distributed in directives to party leaders. No evidence has yet turned up that Ho Chi Minh is receiving current directives either from Moscow, China, or the Soviet Legation in Bangkok. It may be assumed that Moscow feels that Ho and his lieutenants have had sufficient training and experience and are sufficiently loyal to be trusted to determine their day-to-day policy without supervision.

Rele

400

1 July 1949

c. Contact with the Chinese Communist Party

CIA COMMENT

This file search has revealed no intelligence which confirms any high level direct contact between Ho Chi Minh and Chinese Communists. There is enough evidence to assume that there have been some working level contacts between Vietnamese Communists and Chinese Communists, particularly in the Sino-Tonkinese border regions. There has been no confirmation of the mutual assistance agreement between Ho and Mao which is alleged to have been signed in June of 1948.

Rele 000  
3. Contact with Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Indochinese Press Extracts No 5/49 dated 25 Feb 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 18 Dec 1948  
(full report)  
page 7

"The question as to whether a treaty has been signed between Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung has been much discussed. Such a discussion is quite futile. Whether a paper agreement outlining obligations and guarantees has been signed by the two leaders or not is of little importance. What does count is that the two men are factually agreed on a common ideal — if a dream of domination and hatred can be called an "ideal."

"One need only listen to the Viet Minh radio to discern this clearly. One hears such statements as: "... the Chinese Communist forces will reach the Tonkinese frontier, where they will make liaison with the armies of Ho Chi Minh. Then we will no longer need to be 'protected' by the French troops, which we will drive out..." After such declarations, it would be naive to believe that one can negotiate with Ho Chi Minh without first ceding to him all of Viet Nam, then Indochina, and soon thereafter the other countries of Southeast Asia where he would propagate his doctrine and spread his destruction. Such is the dream which Ho Chi Minh and his "ally" Mao Tse-tung propose to realize together." — Editorial

Rele

004

1 July 49  
ORE

c.

New York Herald Tribune, 10 Feb 49

Bangkok, Siam, Feb. 9 (AP)---President Ho Chi Minh of the Vietnam Republic of Indochina denied today he had entered a secret agreement with Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung. He said the report, published in England and France, "proves the colonialists are in a state of jitters and are intending to make use of this false document to plead for other countries' aid, being convinced they are on the brink of failure."

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25X1C

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

Re

A00

3. Contact with Chinese Communists
5. Material support from Chinese Communists

25)

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 28 Apr 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 1 Apr 1949  
(excerpt)  
page 2

Replying to Dupont's interpellation on the military situation in Tonkin, Minister of Defense Ramadier declared in the French National Assembly that there was nothing particularly new or alarming in the recent incidents along the Tonkin-China border. While admitting the possibility of a connection between Viet Minh and Chinese Communist leaders, Ramadier declared that there was no evidence of intervention by the Chinese Communist Army and that the Communists referred to in the reports were merely Chinese Communist bands.

3. Direct contact with Chinese Communists
7. Moral support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Report No \_\_\_\_\_ dated 12 May 1949  
Saigon, Annamese and Chinese Press Review, daily French  
language bulletin of the Bureau de la Presse et de  
l'Information Commissariat de la Republique Francaise  
en Cochinchine, 8 Apr 1949  
(full report)  
page 2

There has been a change of policy regarding the Chinese Communist menace in Indochina both on the part of the French Government and the pro-Communist Vietnamese, claims the semiweekly Duoc Viet of 8 April 1949. The writer states that the pro-Communist faction in Indochina now openly supports the Chinese Communists, using their victories as an anti-Bao Dai propaganda weapon and also as a boost to their own morale. The Duoc Viet explains the French Government's recent reluctance to accuse the Viet Minh of collusion with the Chinese Communists by saying that, if the French should denounce this alliance, they would reveal themselves as being unable to cope with the situation in Viet Nam, just at the time when France is preparing to bring the Viet Nam problem to the attention of the member nations of the Atlantic Pact.

3. Direct contact with Chinese Communists

1A

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 18 May 1949  
Saigon, Annamese and Chinese Press Review, daily French  
language bulletin of the Bureau de la Presse et de  
l'Information Commissariat de la Republique Francaise en  
Cochinchine, 15-22 Apr 1949  
(Full report)  
page 2

The Viet Minh, completely outdone by Bao Dai's successes in the  
8 March Agreement, has retaliated with desperate endeavors to discredit  
the former Emperor, writes the Phuc Hung, of 22 April 1949.

The editorialist, quoting the Viet Minh as calling Bao Dai a  
puppet, replies that this "puppet" has not allowed himself to be  
controlled by Mao Tse-tung, but has achieved effective national  
independence, and therefore merits respect.

3. Direct contact with Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 24 May 1949  
Saigon, L'Echo du Viet Nam, daily French language newspaper,  
27 Apr 49  
(extracts)  
page 2 - 3

The French newspaper Paris Presse-L'Intransigeant writes:

"Although the open alliance between Ho Chi Minh and the Chinese Communists may make for greater difficulties in Tonkin, it may also serve to rouse Vietnamese patriotism, since China is Viet Nam's traditional enemy."

L'Aurore-France Libre writes in the same vein, asserting that Ho Chi Minh's willingness to accept support from the Chinese was apt to alienate the sympathies of the Vietnamese people. "Instinctively, the people will turn to the representative of the Nguyen dynasty...and at the same time they will turn once more toward France."

Re

SECRET  
REF ID: A6571

AOL

1 July 1949

d. Material Support from the Soviet Union

CIA COMMENT

This file search has revealed no intelligence report which indicates that the Ho Chi Minh government is receiving or has recently received material support from the Soviet Union. One report, an extract of which is attached, alleges that a few technicians of Russian nationality have been working in great secrecy for the Ho Chi Minh government. There has been no confirmation of this report.

46/941

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25X1C

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

~~SECRET~~

7A

1 July 1949

e. Material Support from the Chinese Communists

CIA COMMENT

This file search has revealed no intelligence which confirms that material assistance is being or has been received by the Ho Government from the Chinese Communists on any extensive scale. Some Chinese Communist influence has been evident in bandit and guerrilla groups who have been involved in arms traffic and some fighting along the northern borders of Indochina. CIA believes that evidence of material support from the Chinese Communists will not be forthcoming until a Communist military consolidation in China reveals the strength which can be made available for areas outside of China.

1 July 49  
ORE

e.

New York Herald Tribune, 12 June 1949 (By Wireless to the Herald Tribune)

Kunming, Yunan Province, Southwest China, June 11.--The revolutionary movements in French Indochina and Burma have so far received very little direct aid from the Chinese Communists, according to available information here.

Communist guerrillas operating in Chinese border districts probably have occasional contacts with their ideological brethren across the frontier, but they are themselves too short of supplies to be of much help. Although there is some smuggling both ways between China and Indochina, it is on an unimportant scale.....

FBIB - China Transmitters, 14 June 1949

The WAH KIW YAT PO of Hong Kong is reported on June 14 to have quoted a well-informed Canton source as saying the Communist High Command had ordered the earliest possible attack on the southern provinces of Kwantung and Kwangsi, with a view to make a quick junction with Ho Chi Minh's pro-Communist Vietnam forces in Indochina.

FBIB - Saigon, AFP in French Morse to SEA, 4 Apr 49, 6:05 a.m. EST-R

The press service of the commander of French forces in the Far East reports:

"Tonkin--- (extract) "As regards the situation in Mocay, we are now in a position to state that the attack was carried out by a detachment of approximately 600 men who came in from China, consisting of Communist elements belonging to the group of Lao To-chang, assistant to the Commander of the 12th Regiment of the Kwangtung Liberation Army, supported by Viet Minh troops who openly declared themselves to be Communists."

5. Material support from Chinese Communists
3. Contact with Chinese Communists
8. Support from other world Communist Parties or organizations.

Source: FDB, Rpt, No 285/49 dated 18 May 1949

Saigon, American Consulate General despatch No 218 of 21 Dec 1948,  
copy, in French, of questionnaire concerning Chinese Communist  
problem in Indochina, submitted by AP correspondent Clementin  
to the Diplomatic Councillor to the High Commissioner of Indochina  
and the replies of the latter.

(excerpts)

page 3 - 5

What information do you have / on possible cooperation between  
the Chinese Communists and the Viet Minh resistance organizations  
(supply of arms, food, and medicines)?

There is cooperation within the Federation between Chinese  
Communist Party and Viet Minh organizations. The gaps /in French  
control/ along the borders, both land and coastal, facilitate the move-  
ment of envoys, liaison agents, and missions which are sent by the rebels  
into the neighboring countries and which do not meet with much opposition  
from the South China frontier authorities. The same remark holds true  
with respect to the Chinese Communists who come from China into the  
zones occupied by the Viet Minh, where politico-military training  
centers, Sino-Vietnamese executive committees, and relief committees  
to aid Chinese immigrants are in operation. Agreements have been  
reached between the Chinese Communist and Viet Minh leaders for the  
recruitment of Chinese to serve in the Viet Minh armed forces.

The rebel organizations are supplied with munitions, food,  
medical supplies, and technical equipment of all kinds from across  
the Sino-Tonkinese border or from the Chinese ports, from which vessels  
sail to the coasts of Tonkin or Annam. Some contraband also comes in  
from Siam and Burma.

In June 1948 an agreement was concluded in Siam between  
representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet Minh,  
according to the terms of which, the contracting parties promised  
mutual assistance in the goal of realizing the emancipation of the  
peoples of Asia and South East Asia.

Towards that end, the Chinese Communist Party pledged: to  
furnish arms to the Viet Minh party; to transport these arms into  
Indochina in exchange for rice, opium, gold, etc... On the military  
level, dispatching of representatives was provided for and facilities  
were to be accorded by the signatory parties, to Viet Minh and Communist  
officers in the respectively controlled zones in Indochina and China.  
Information services were to be established on both sides.

Indications given in the preceding paragraphs show that the  
terms of the agreement have been carried out. Numerous facts and  
observations have confirmed this during the second half /of 1948/.

R

7A

ORE

30 June 1949

e.

Extract from: Airgram from Hanoi, A-63, December 20, 1948; Control 2011

Local French newspaper, L'Entente, published on December 16th, 1948, what is purported to be the main outline of a treaty signed in June 1948 between Ho Chi Minh, President of the Vietnamese (Viet Minh) Government and Ma Tse Tung, Chinese Communist leader. The treaty is said to have been signed by Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander of the Viet Minh Revolutionary army, on behalf of the Ho Chi Minh Government and Lam Ting on behalf of the Chinese Communists.

(For provisions, see this ~~xxxx~~ airgram)

The source of the article is admitted to be the Parisian newspaper "Climats", devoted principally to colonial affairs, in its issue of December 8th.

Official and private reaction to the news has been one of complete skepticism.

ORE

OR

CONFIDENTIAL

17A

30 June 1949

c.

Source: Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 218 of December 21, 1948, from the American Consulate General at Saigon, Indochina, on the subject of: "Communism in the Chinese Community In Indochina"

(Enclosure No. 1 consists of a questionnaire submitted by the local representative of the Associated Press, Monsieur CLEMENTIN, to the Diplomatic Councilor to the High Commissioner and the replies of the latter.)

5. What information do you have? on possible cooperation between the Chinese Communists and the Viet Minh resistance organizations (supply of arms, food, and medicines)?

There is cooperation within the Federation between Chinese Communist Party and Viet Minh organizations. The gaps in French control along the borders, both land and coastal, facilitate the movement of envoys, liaison agents, and missions which are sent by the rebels into the neighboring countries and which do not meet with much opposition from the South China frontier authorities. The same remark holds true with respect to the Chinese Communists who come from China into the zones occupied by the Viet Minh, where politico-military training centers, Sino-Vietnamese executive committees, and relief committees to aid Chinese immigrants are in operation. Agreements have been reached between the Chinese Communist and Viet Minh leaders for the recruitment of Chinese to serve in the Viet Minh armed forces.

The rebel organizations are supplied with munitions, food, medical supplies, and technical equipment of all kinds from across the Sino-Tonkinese border or from the Chinese ports, from which vessels sail to the coasts of Tonkin or Annam. Some contraband also comes in from Siam and Burma.

8. ....In June 1948, an agreement was concluded in Siam between representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet Minh, according to the terms of which, the contracting parties promised mutual assistance in the goal of realizing the emancipation of the peoples of Asia and South East Asia.

Towards that end, the Chinese Communist Party pledged: to furnish arms to the Viet Minh Party; to transport these arms into Indochina in exchange for rice, opium, gold, etc... On the military level, dispatching of representatives was provided for and facilities were to be accorded by the signatory parties, to Viet Minh and Communist officers in the respectively controlled zones in Indochina and China. Information services were to be established on both sides.

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25X1C

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

e.

leas

ORE  
30 June 1949

FBIB-R B48 RESTRICTED

FZR4 SAIGON AFP IN FRENCH MORSE TO SOUTHEAST ASIA 0630 3/31

(TEXT) SAIGON -- The "High Command of the Vietnamese Resistance Forces" confirms over the Viet Minh Radio that "the first elements of Chinese Liberation Forces have lately displayed lively activity on the Sino-Vietnamese Frontier," and emphasizes the "important support which the Vietnamese forces gained from this development."

This statement is the first official acknowledgement of collaboration between the Viet Minh forces and the Chinese Communists.

FBIB

Paris, AFP Radioteletype in French to New York, Apr. 1, 1949, 1:40 P.m. EST-W

(Text)

~~Indicates the document~~

Extract

~~Indicates the document~~

"Moreover, the radio post 'The Voice of Viet Nam,' which is reportedly situated in the region of Vinh, announces that 'Ho Chi Minh and Gen. Giap categorically deny the affirmations of French propaganda which is trying to make believe that Sino-Viet Namese elements are fighting at the frontiers of China.' 'The successes won in this region,' this radio states, 'are due solely to the Viet Namese resistance.'

5. Material support from Chinese Communists
8. Moral support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 28 Apr 49  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 26 Mar 1949  
(full report)  
page 1

The General Staff of the French Forces in the Far East reports an increase in Viet Minh military activity along the Tonkin-Chinese border during the first 2 weeks of March. Numerous attacks have been made on French military posts north of Lang Son and east of Lao Kay. Bands of Chinese Communists are aiding the Viet Minh in these attacks, which, the General Staff reports, are being successfully countered by French forces.

Accounts of these attacks have been greatly exaggerated in the left-wing French newspapers, such as Combat, Franc Tireur, and l'Humanite.

25  
RK 7A  
5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 6 May 1949  
Saigon, L'Echo du Viet Nam, daily French language newspaper,  
2 Apr 1949  
(full report)  
page 1 - 2

Gen Chevance Bertin, writing in the 31 March 1949 issue of the Paris paper, Carrefour, under the heading, "France Has Lost Three Years Dealing With Ho Chi Minh; The Indochinese Problem Is Now A Military Question," states in conclusion:

"Ho Chi Minh has thrown away his mask by enlisting the aid of traditional enemies of his native land. This will finally open the eyes of those in France and in other countries who did not wish to see the menace to Western civilization in the Far East. We must not forsake the cause of free people. It is one's duty to fulfill one's obligations. Complete abandonment of Indochina would be tantamount to treason and would endanger the very existence of the French Union."

OR

SECRET

17A

2

### 5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 28 Apr 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 31 Mar 1949  
(excerpt)  
page 1

Commmunique issued by the Information Service of the French  
Forces in the Far East:

"Tonkin -- Aided from within, Chinese Communists succeeded  
in entering the border town of Mon Gay on 27 March. Garrison forces,  
consisting chiefly of Nung riflemen, were able to hold the citadel,  
in which women and children took refuge. Casualties amounted to  
about 30 killed and an equal number wounded.

SECRET  
DEFENSE

## 5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 3 May 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 5 Apr 49  
(extracts)  
page 1

A communique issued by the Information Service of the French  
Armed Forces in the Far East reports the following:

Thirty kilometers northwest of Lao Cay, a Sino-Viet Nam band  
has breached the border and has crossed into Tonkin.

Concerning the Mon Cay incident, it is now confirmed that the  
attack was launched by a detachment of about 600 men coming from China  
and composed of Communist elements of the band of Lao Chang-ha,  
adjutant to the commander of the 20th "Liberation Regiment" of Kwangtung,  
and aided by Viet Minh forces calling themselves Communists.

This operation had been carefully planned. About 60 Chinese  
Communist soldiers, armed with false Nung credentials, had previously  
infiltrated the coastal defense battalion, a regular unit recruited  
exclusively among the Nung minority, in order to be in a position to  
throw open the city defenses to the assaulting forces at the proper  
moment.

25  
5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 3 May 1949  
Saigon, L'Union Francaise, daily French language newspaper,  
7 Apr 1949  
(excerpts)  
page 1

A communique issued by the Information Service of the French  
Armed Forces in the Far East states:

Tonkin — Sino-Viet Minh forces continue fairly active along  
the Tonkin-China border. In the Lao Cai sector, two Chinese bands  
which had crossed the border into Tonkin were driven out, with eight  
killed.

1R

7A

5X1A

## 5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt dated 10 May 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 11 Apr 1949  
(excerpt)  
page 2

Hanoi military officials describe as "highly fantastic" news accounts from foreign sources which would have 25 Chinese Communist battalions massed on the Tonkinese border.

The same authorities stress the importance of the collusion between the Chinese Communists and the Viet Minh, but point out that it is not right to exaggerate the gravity, from a military point of view, of the intrusion into Indochinese territory of bands owing allegiance to the Communists.

These bands, judging from their numbers and their combat strength, do not at present appear capable of endangering the entire French forces deployed along the Sino-Tonkinese border, these authorities declare, but add: "It is certain, however, that they [the bands] provided a diversion which the Viet Minh urgently needed."

15

PR/DEC

7A

A

## 5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 18 May 1949  
Saigon, L'Echo du Viet Nam, daily French language newspaper,  
20 Apr 1949  
(excerpts)  
page 1

Commenting on the current military situation in Viet Nam,  
the Hanoi nationalist daily Thoi Su states:

"Confronted by the increasingly serious situation in North  
Viet Nam and the constant menace along the northern border from pro-  
Communist Chinese troops acting in liaison with the Viet Minh forces,  
it will be only natural for France to send military reinforcements  
to Indochina."

## 5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 6 Jun 1949  
Paris, Indo Clim, weekly French language newspaper, 30 Apr 1949  
(full report)  
page 2

The troops of Ho Chi Minh in north Tonkin have voluntarily withdrawn from their position, following the crossing of the Tonkin border by troops commanded by Lo Chia-pi, ex-Nationalist turned Communist, states Henry Benazet in the Aurore. The writer states that Ho Chi Minh now awaits reinforcements from Mao Tse-tung, in order to launch a full-scale invasion. Benazet declares, however, that nine-tenths of Ho's supporters will desert him when they realize that their leader is betraying them to China, their traditional enemy.

Rele

COPY

100

ORE  
30 June 1949

COPY

CONTROL 1311

4.

Rec'd June 3, 1949  
8:50 a.m.

FROM: Hanoi  
TO: Secretary of State  
NO: 47, June 3, 5 p.m.

British colleague reports extreme confidence receipt report  
evidence uncovered China of Viet Minh army  
officers being ~~trained~~ trained by Chinese Communist army. In one instance  
200 said to have been found by Nationalists in course successful operation  
southern province.

Pouched Saigon.

GIBSON

CLICK

~~SECRET~~

C.

ORE  
30 June 1949

Source: Extract from Airgram No. 152 from the American Embassy, Bangkok, Siam, dated April 12, 1949.<sup>an</sup>

Recent accusations made by the French to the effect that Chinese Communists were aiding Vietminh forces, particularly in the Hanoi area have brought forth a strong denial from local Vietnamese News Service Representatives. On April 9 Liberty, a Bangkok English language paper, published a lengthy refutation of the French charges which, however, contained a certain amount of evasion. After listing in detail Vietnamese military successes achieved during the past months, the letter by Tran Mai, local Director of the Vietnamese News Service, stated: "Any report that Vietnam forces benefit by the Chinese liberation Army's help is almost completely imaginary.....One has to ask oneself how the Chinese liberation Army could travel such a great distance which is still under the control of the Kuomintang forces to come and cooperate with Vietnam forces in the fight against the French. President Ho Chi Minh once declared to an American correspondent that Vietnam depends always upon its own force."

~~SECRET~~

Re

SECRET

A00

## 2 5. Material support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 9 May 1949  
Shang-hai, Ho-p'ing Jih-pao, daily Chinese language newspaper,  
1 Apr 1949  
(full report)  
page 1

The Viet Minh Government of Ho Chi Minh has confirmed the report that troops of the Chinese Communist Liberation Armies have carried on a joint action with Viet Minh military forces against the French on the China-Indochina border. The French are reported to have suffered heavy losses.

Rele

000

e. Material aid from Chinese Communists

Source: SD T-257, Saigon, December 6, 1948. SD Control #1833.

Report "that Chinese Communist General already  
established with small staff Bac Quang, but no immediate danger  
<sup>r</sup>  
risk felt from 4,000 irregulars border area."

Re

~~SECRET~~

A0

1 July 1949

f. Moral Support from the Soviet Union

CIA COMMENT

This file search has revealed no intelligence which confirms that the Ho Government is receiving or has received moral support of a covert nature from the Soviet Union. There are numerous examples of overt moral support, however, through press and radio broadcasts and Soviet proposals in the United Nations. It is quite clear that the USSR is supporting the emergence of a government in Indochina led by Ho.

~~SECRET~~

21

17A

f. Moral support from the Soviet Union

Source: Review of Soviet Press, 22 Feb 1949, from TRUD.

(Translation)

(excerpt)

THE PEOPLE OF VIET NAM IN STRUGGLE AND AT WORK, By I. Podkopaev.

"... In reality the so-called French army is based on the French Foreign Legion which is a collection of former SS men, Austrian soldiers from Hitlerite troops, etc.".....

"Opposed to this collection of former Hitler Youths and cut-throats stand the immeasurably growing democratic forces of Viet Nam. The advanced detachment of these forces is the Communist Party. They direct the popular coalition which unites in its ranks the wide masses of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the small and middle urban bourgeoisie."

f. Moral support from the Soviet Union

Source: Washington Post, April 6, 1947; dateline: Saigon.

"French officials here clothe the Viet Minh Party led by Ho Chi Minh in deepest red. They term Ho's activities the spearhead of a Communist invasion of Southeast Asia.

They do not believe the Viet Minh is directed or financed by Moscow, either directly, via Paris, or through Yenan. Instead they contend that Ho Chi Minh and his associates are thoroughly steeped in communism by reason of early training and activities, and are dedicated to the establishment of a Soviet beachhead in Indo-China."

R 7A0

f. Moral support from the Soviet Union.

Source: New York Herald Tribune, August 17, 1948; dateline Geneva,  
August 16.

"The United Nations Economic and Social Council today rejected  
a Soviet proposal to admit the new republics of Indonesia and Viet  
Nam as associate members of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia  
and the Far East (ECAFE)."

f. Moral support from the Soviet Union.

Source: New York Herald Tribune, March 15, 1949; dateline Moscow, March 14, 1949.

"Pravda today attacked the agreement signed last week between France and the ex-Emperor Bai Dai of Annam, a part of French Indo-China. The Communist organ called the accord a 'farce' which is 'bound to collapse'. It said peace in the Far East French protectorate, where civil war has raged since the end of World War II, could be reached only through talks with Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Vietnam Republican forces. Pravda called this the only 'lawful government' of Indo-China. This kind of a solution 'does not satisfy either the French colonizers or their American protectors,' the newspaper said."

Re

A00

ORE  
30 June 1949

f.

Brief of a telegram from Hanoi, #8 dated 15 Nov 1946

The "Anti Fascist committee of Soviet Youth sent a telegram to the youth of Vietnam on World Youth. Message from the Moscow Committee was acknowledged. It is not known how this telegram arrived. It did not come through normal French commercial channels nor through any other known source. The French first picked it up in English from RADIO HANOI, a Vietnamese controlled station. It could have come in either through the Soviet Repatriation Mission which is now in Saigon or through Bach Mai as suggested in my telegram #99 dated 29 October, 8 a.m.

The wording of the Russian message particularly the phrase "the Soviet youth follows with the greatest sympathy your effort to achieve the unification of the Vietnamese youth, etc." seems to confirm the intelligence report under reference in Deptel 241 of Sept 9 2 p.m. to Saigon, that the USSR is anxious to see Ho Chi Minh succeed in uniting the three Kys or Bos.

ORE  
30 June 1949

f.

Extract from Moscow's A-415 of 21 April 1949; Control 5938

The Soviet foreign affairs weekly NEW TIMES, in its issue of April 13, devotes a two-page article to "Viet Nam in its Struggle for Independence".

-----  
from

Extract ~~of~~ last paragraph: The workers, forming one of Ho's chief supports, are united in the Viet Nam Confederation of Labor whose membership is 300,000. The Democratic Women's organization has two million members, and more than a million peasants are enlisted in the Peasant Union. The first two of these groups are members respectively of the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Democratic Federation of Women.....

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25X1C

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25  
6. Moral support from the Soviet Union

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 16 Jun 1949  
Hong Kong, Hua-shang Pao, daily Chinese language newspaper,  
1 Jun 1949  
(full report)  
page 1

Red Star, organ of the Red Army, reviewed the book, The Truth About Viet Nam, a collection of essays by French leftist intelligentsia, published in Moscow, 29 May 1949, by the Foreign Literature Publication Society. Red Star, pointing to the political and economic reforms effected by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, including labor laws, agricultural reforms, and cultural advances, quotes the book as follows:

"The establishment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is an obstacle in the path of the French monopolistic capitalists. These capitalists by their extortions in Viet Nam have realized many billions in profit. Since September 1947 when Bullitt, the ambassador of Wall Street, visited Saigon, American capitalists have been interfering in the internal affairs of Viet Nam."

I. Moral support from the Soviet Union

Source: FMIB Daily Report, Far East, No. 120, 23 June 1949  
Viet Nam News Agency (VNA2) in English Morse to all stations,  
21 June, 1949, 9:05 a.m. EST--II

(Excerpt)

"News and views from the Soviet Union--(TASS) News Agency of the USSR:  
'Editorial-'What I Saw in Viet Nam,' by (Rene Lernier) Overoz, French  
Editorialist:

"In 1942 an extensive resistance movement against the Japanese  
invaders and all shades of French collaborationists spread throughout  
the country. On the initiative of the Communist Party all the democratic  
parties formed a single front--The National League of Viet Nam directed  
the struggle against Japanese and their French abettors in Indochina. In  
September 1945, following the victorious offensive of the Soviet Army,  
Japan capitulated. The people of Viet Nam overthrew the Cabinet of  
~~Thieu~~ Tran-trong-Kim and the Government of the Democratic Republic ~~mm~~  
headed by Ho Chi Minh was formed in Hanoi.

Re

ORE

AO

1 July 49

f.

FBIB Weekly Survey - 18 Feb 49 (TASS, in English Morse to the Far East, 12 Feb)

Re women of Vietnam: "The account of the activities of the women "to whom the triumph of the democratic system brought equality" is based on a letter received by the Soviet Women's Antifascist Committee from a member of the National Women's Alliance of Vietnam."

FBIB Weekly Survey - 18 Feb 49 ~~for me~~

"The 22 February edition of TRUD carries an article by Podkopayev devoted to the thesis that popular support goes to Ho Chi-minh, not the former Emperor ( in English to North America, 22 Feb 49) The article contends that the French resorted to negotiations with Bao Dai only because 'in the opinion of Washington,' re-instatement of Bao Dai 'would be a stumbling block to the spread of Communism' in Indochina and the rest of Asia. 'These plans of the American monopolies... are doomed to failure,' the commentary claims, because of "the successes of the Vietnam democratic government under the guidance of Ho Chi-minh.'"

FBIB Weekly Survey - 23 April 1948

"Two commentaries attribute blame to the US for the continued hostilities in Indochina. A Mandarin-language broadcast of 15 April contends that 'without doubt, if the US had not extended military, financial, and diplomatic aid to the French Government, the French would never possibly have waged cruel colonial war in Vietnam.' Both commentaries praise Ho Chi Minh and denounce William Bullitt for their respective roles.

FBIB Weekly Survey - 30 July 1948

"Reference, in monitored Soviet broadcasts, to developments in Southeast Asia continue to follow the familiar pattern.....and Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Nam Republic are praised in a commentary by Mayevsky that represents nothing but a rehash of arguments and charges that have been aired frequently in past weeks.

R

1A0

ORE  
1 July 1949

f.

Source: FBIB, from Moscow Far East Service, in Japanese, 12 April 1929 ~~excerpts~~ from commentary entitled "Anti-Communist Propaganda of the Anglo-American imperialists."

"The Viet Nam Government is made up of members of the Communist, Socialist, Democratic, Nationalist and the New Annam parties. Representatives of Buddhists and catholics are also in the Government. ...Ho Chi Minh, who leads the fight against the Japanese and the French colonizers and who has the undivided respect of the people is the head of this Government. The imperialist bloc has been carrying on wild anti-Communist propaganda to weaken the Ho Chi Minh Government and to split the unity of the Viet Namese."

f.

ORE  
1 July 1949

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, in English to India and Pakistan,  
10 March 1949 excerpts - Weekly Survey, Vol. II, No. 11, p. 18

"The 'apprehensive' French negotiated with Bao Dai and 'ignored the democratic government of Ho Chi Minh which has the support of the entire population of Viet Nam.'"

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, TASS, in English 29 May - Weekly Survey, Vol. II No. 22, p. 16

"The Foreign Literature Publishing House in Moscow has just published a book entitled THE TRUTH ABOUT VIET NAM composed of articles prepared by progressive French intellectuals. RED STAR, in reviewing the new volume, traces the history of the Viet Nam resistance movement and dwells particularly on political and economic achievements of the Republic."

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, July 1948 - Weekly Survey, Vol. I, No. 54, 23 July 1948, p. H5

"Viet Minh accomplishments are recapitulated in a report of a summary issued on 19 June--the 1,000 day of resistance. The accomplishments listed include casualties inflicted on French troops, equipment captured etc."

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, in Arabic, 6 July 1948 - Weekly Survey, Vol. I, No. 52, 9 July 1948, p. H3

"General Xuan's position is said to be 'precarious' and the people of Indochina, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh have not only refused to cooperate with Xuan but will continue to struggle against it."

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, in Russian to Soviet Asia, 2 July 1948 Weekly Survey, Vol. I, No. 52, 9 July 48, p. H2

"IZVESTIA reports that the French will never be able to divide the liberation movement because the Ho Chi Minh Government has firmly established itself by its democratic accomplishments."

f.

ORE  
1 July 1949

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, in Indonesian, 11 June 1949 - excerpt -  
Weekly Survey Vol. 11, No. 24 p. 17 - Daily Report, USSR and Eastern Europe,  
no. 116, 17 June 1949, p.C65-7

"Moscow claims that the Indochina war is proving costly in both francs and manpower  
and insists that 'the people of Viet Nam are united under the leadership of  
Ho Chi Minh!'"

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service from Khabarovsk in Korean, 25 June 1949-excerpts

"The Viet Namese Communist Party has been very successful in its efforts to (united)  
the entire democratic power of the land.

"The enslaved people in the Far Eastern countries look with profound trust upon the  
Soviet Union which has opened a glorious future for them, and regard the Soviet  
Union as their intimate friend.

"The anti-imperialist camp, including the Soviet Union has been an important source  
of power... The presence of this powerful democratic camp gives the colonized people  
a firm conviction that they can win in the struggle to claim full independence and  
liberty for the fatherland."

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, in Mandarin, 23 June 1949 excerpts of summary

Speech before joint conference of Pacific regional research and economic research  
institute in Moscow. Conference topic: "The People's Struggle in Asia."

"The Lenin-Stalin principles on the struggle of the proletariat can be clearly seen  
in the peoples of western Asia ... Now under the leadership of Communist Parties,  
the colonial areas of Asia are experiencing a resurgence of democracy and freedom.  
...Others in Asia, such as the Viet Nam People's Government...are all struggling  
for the liberation of the proletariat."

Source: FBIB, Soviet Far East Service, in English to North America, 22 February 1949  
Weekly Survey, Vol. II, No. 8, 25 February, page 110

"TRUD carries an article by Podkopayev claiming that the French resorted to negotia-  
tions with Bao Dai only because 'in the opinion of Washington' re-instatement of  
Bao Dai 'would be a stumbling block to the spread of Communism' in Indochina and  
the rest of Asia. 'These plans of the American monopolies...are doomed to failure  
(because of) the successes of the Viet Nam democratic government under the guidance  
of Ho Chi Minh.'"

~~SECRET~~  
~~WIRELESS~~

1 July 1949

g. Moral Support from the Chinese Communists

CIA COMMENT

This file search has revealed no intelligence confirming that the Chinese Communists directly and explicitly support the Vietnam Government led by Ho Chi Minh. Recently, however, the Chinese Communist Radio, by omission, has indicated support of Ho's efforts. Some evidence of general moral support from Chinese Communists for the effort to drive out the French is available. CIA believes that evidence of specific moral support is not likely to be forthcoming until some understanding is reached if and when the Chinese Communists are in a position to undertake substantial direct material assistance.

~~SECRET~~  
~~WIRELESS~~

7A0  
1 July 49

g. Moral support from Chinese Communists

Source: FDB, Rpt No  
Hong Kong, Hua Shang Pac, daily Chinese language newspaper, 6 Jun 1949

On the eve of Ho Chi Minh's 58th birthday, the so-called Sino-Vietnam Federation circulated anti-French and anti-Bao Dai pamphlets in Chinese and Annamese exhorting the Chinese and Vietnamese people of Indochina to unite and drive out the French.

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25X1C

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

ORE  
7 July 49  
China Division

g. Moral Support from Chinese Communists

Source: FBIB, Far Eastern Section, Articles and Speeches, March 22, 1949  
North Shensi, New China News Agency in English Morse to North America, Mar 21, 1949, 10:10 a.m. EST-H.  
North Shensi on Indonesian Situation  
'Bourgeois Movements Doomed to Fail'  
(Excerpts)

"The reactionary ruling classes of the Republic dread the anti-imperialist strength of the people of their own country (Indonesia) and of the people of the world. Therefore they not only cannot shoulder the great cause of national liberation, but also cannot preserve their 'Republic' from being destroyed by the Dutch aggressors. They have the same outlook as the Nehrus, Ginnahs, Luang Phibun Songgrams, Quirinos, Syngman Rhee, and other feeble-minded bourgeoisie of the East..."

(Note that Ho Chi Minh is not included in that grouping, which would indicate that the CCP approves of HO's effort, inasmuch as this article approves only of Communist-led and Soviet-oriented movements.)

Rele

~~SECRET~~

00

9. ~~SECRET~~ Moral support from Chinese Communists

25X

Source: FDB, Rpt No  
Hong Kong, Hua Shang Pao, daily Chinese language newspaper,  
6 Jun 1949

On the eve of Ho Chi Minh's 58th birthday, the so-called Sino-Viet Nam Federation circulated anti-French and anti-Bao Dai pamphlets in Chinese and Annamese exhorting the Chinese and Vietnamese people of Indochina to unite and drive out the French.

~~(REF)~~

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

25X1C

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

~~SECRET~~

AOF

1 July 1949

h. [REDACTED] Support from other Communist Parties

CIA COMMENT

This file search has revealed considerable intelligence which indicates that general sympathy and moral support for the Vietnam Government led by Ho, has been expressed from other Communist quarters. There is no information available that material assistance has been given to the Ho Government by other Communist parties or other Communist-dominated organizations. It should be noted, however, that this support is generally for the resistance movement rather than for Ho personally.

~~SECRET~~

1 July 49

CNE

RF

7A

h.

FBIB, 10 June 49  
Paris, AFP, French Press Service, June 9

"Paris--The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party met today under the chairmanship of Maurice Thorez, Secretary General of the Party.....the following mandate to the Communist Parliamentary group: 1.-----2. To claim the immediate cessation of hostilities in Vietnam and the opening of peace negotiations with Ho Chi Minh. 3.-----

FBIB, 27 June 49  
Voice of South Vietnam, Republican-controlled -- in Annamese, June 25

The (Far Eastern) Economic and Cultural Relations Committee of the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia organized an exposition in Prague showing the struggle of Vietnam. The exposition .....has a large number of photographs, paintings, and (maps) to show clearly to the Czechoslovak people the manners and customs of the Vietnamese people, the brutal domination by French colonialists during the past 80 years, and the great achievements of the democratic Republic of Vietnam, particularly the glorious struggle of the whole Vietnamese people against the French colonial aggressors.-----

FBIB, 17 June 49  
Voice of South Vietnam, Republican-controlled -- in Annamese, June 16

The German youth who held a national congress in Berlin invited the representative of Vietnamese youth to participate in the congress. The Vietnamese representative sent the German youths a message of greetings and expressed deep regret at his not being able to participate. -----

FBIB, 24 May 49  
Voice of South Vietnam, Republican-controlled -- in Annamese, May 19

Excerpt:

Here is the message sent by the Secretary General of the Indian Youth League in Burma to the Vietnamese Youth on the occasion of President Ho Chi Minh's birthday:

"The whole Vietnamese people must be grateful to him (Ho) because thanks to his farsighted leadership, Vietnam has obtained many successes in a short period of time. It is only with such a leader that an oppressed people can defeat French imperialism. ....Long live President Ho Chi Minh. Long live the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Long live the democratic peoples all over the world."

Re

SECRET  
S E C R E T

A0

ORE  
30 June 1949

h.  
Source: Report No. R-556-48 from Military Attaché at Prague, dated December 29, 1948,  
on the subject of: "OMNIPOL Agent Reported Buying Arms for VIET NAM Forces".

Around 1 Dec 48 according to a Mr. SIMOVICH, of JUGOSLAV nationality, formerly a USTASHI member, was present in PRAGHA acting as a representative for OMNIPOL, the official buying and selling agency for CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The report stated that SIMOVICH was attempting to buy arms for the VIET NAM forces. According to the source, SIMOVICH, was recently the OMNIPOL representative in KARACHI, INDIA, and was returned to PRAHA by unknown persons to make the arms purchase. A separate source reported substantially the same information at the same time, only adding that the arms to be brought were small arms of several types all coming from the ZBROJOVKA BRNO arms factories.

COMMENT: Sales here to the VIET NAMESE WOULD probably be countenanced by the SOVIETS, and it is known that CZECHOSLOVAKIA has arms available for purchase. However, the sale of such arms has usually been contingent on the purchaser's ability to pay hard currency. No further information is available but details will be forwarded as they become available.

25  
8. Moral Support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FDB, Rpt dated 11 May 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 13 Apr 1949  
(excerpt)  
Page 2

A debate on the prohibition of organized demonstrations favoring Viet Minh in Paris, developed at a recent meeting of the Municipal Council of Paris. Dr. Devraigne, speaking for the RPF bloc, recounted atrocities committed against French soldiers, doctors, and nurses "by rebel bands at the orders of Ho Chi Minh," and demanded that the Paris Prefect of Police prohibit all so-called manifestations for peace which, he claimed were actually propaganda maneuvers of the rebel forces in Indochina. The speaker demanded application of the treason law, closing down of the Viet Minh delegation in France and confiscation of literature distributed by that agency.

At this point, M. Bossus observed in the name of the Communist group that the majority of Parisians were in favor of peace.

2

8. Moral support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FDB Rpt No dated 20 Apr 1949  
Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, daily French language  
newspaper, 11 Mar 1949  
(full report)  
page 1

Jules Haag writing in Climats warns the Viet Minh, as well as all Vietnamese, that they should take little consolation in French Communist efforts on the part of Viet Nam.

He states, "Ho Chi Minh and his ministers should know well that the Communists at Versailles, or at the Palais Bourbon, have little interest in Viet Nam or its future. The new state of Viet Nam interests them only to the extent that it will be aligned to the Russian sphere. In the debates on the accord with Bao Dai, the Communists at Versailles scrupulously obeyed the orders of Moscow. Perish France! Perish Viet Nam! If only Russia dominates the world! That is their concept, for Communists, now and always, are submissive to Moscow, even against France itself."

A00

8. Moral support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FIDB, Rpt No dated 6 Jun 1949  
Paris, Indo Clim, weekly French language newspaper, 30 Apr 1949  
(full report)  
page 1

X1A

Regarding Bao Dai's return, the Humanite remains loyal to Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh, trusting that the proven patience of the press and public blindness will offset the risks involved in their bold policy.

2

8. Moral support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 14 Apr 1949  
Shang-hai, Hsin-wen Pao, daily Chinese language newspaper, 3 Mar 1949  
(excerpt)  
page 1

The avowed intent of the Burmese Bolshevik Party is alignment with the Communist parties in China and Indochina and loyalty to Soviet policy. The Party is pledged to strive for the overthrow of all capitalist governments.

8. Support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FDB, Indochinese Press Extracts No 6/49 dated 24 Mar 1949  
Saigon, L'Union Francaise, daily French language newspaper,  
29 Dec 1948  
(excerpts)  
page 32

The collusion which Viet Minh representatives maintain abroad with the international Communists is well known. The propaganda services of the Ho Chi Minh Government have issued the following circular: "On the occasion of the centennial of the 1848 revolution, our delegation in Budapest attended a conference with more than 1,000 Greek democratic officers. One of our representatives outlined the military situation in Viet Nam and aroused a great interest by his description of the battle of Tonkin. A portrait of Ho Chi Minh and one of Vo Nguyen Giap were given to the head of the Greek delegation who promised to deliver them to General Markos." — Editorial

2

8. Moral support from other world Communist parties or organizations

Source: FDB, Rpt No dated 6 Jun 1949  
Paris, Indo Chine, weekly French language newspaper, 30 Apr 1949  
(excerpts)  
page 1 - 2

The Paris Cominform paper Sovetskiy Patriot of 25 April 1949 states the following opinion in an article entitled, "On Orders from Washington, the Puppet Bao Dai Leaves for Viet Nam ... and the Dirty War Continues":

"Emperor Bao Dai, puppet of the French, and especially the US imperialists in Indochina, left Nice by air yesterday for Saigon. Bao Dai admitted to the AFP, before departure, that the work awaiting him was 'vast and complex.' His departure was delayed from week to week, as he knows he has no native support and that all the Vietnamese support the duly-constituted government of Ho Chi Minh. The only way to end the 'dirty war' is to deal with Ho Chi Minh."

R

7A0

h. Material or moral support from other Communist parties.

Source: French Journal Officiel, Parliamentary Debates, March, 1947.

During the debates on the French budget, the Communist wing of the French National Assembly opposed military credits for Indochina. However, there were several Communists in the French Government (cabinet) at this time, and here, at a higher policy-making level, the French Communist Party approved military credits for the war being waged by the French against the so-called Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

R

7A

h. Material or moral support from Communist parties in other parts of the world.

Source: Air Attaché, Paris, report no. R-619-48. Date of information: 12 August 1948. Source: French Air Force Officer. Evaluation: C-3.

"1. Recently 76 airplanes were received by the French Air Force in Indo-China. Every single one of these was unfit for use due to deliberate sabotage on the part of workmen in the factory where they were made.

2. The MORAN 500, which is the French version of the German Fieseler Sterch, has recently been grounded in France. This is because the fabric tears off the wings due to deliberate sabotage on the part of the workmen in the factory where they were made. Due to the shortage of airplanes in Indochina the French Air Force is forced to fly them there anyway.

3. A large part of the workmen in the French aircraft industry belong to Communist cells. They perform these acts of sabotage to help their "brother Communists" who are fighting against the French in Indo-China.

A/Air A Comment: The A-2, French Air Force, has confirmed that the Morane 500s have been grounded in France to have the wings recovered. Whether or not the failure of the fabric is caused by deliberate sabotage, by faulty materials, bad workmanship, or normal wear, is not known."

~~SECRET~~  
IM-191

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

6 July 1949

OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE AND ESTIMATES

Project Proposal Memorandum

To: WJM

From: Staff Intelligence Group, Projects Planning

Subject: Ho Chi Minh

Statement of Project

**Origin:** Special State request (CR no. 6580.6, dated 1 July)

**Problem:** Documentary evidence showing Ho Chi Minh as a Communist.

Assumptions:

This project was prepared by B/FE without reference to G/SI and a copy was deposited with G/SI on 5 July. The original was delivered by B/FE to State on 1 July. No other dissemination was made.

Date:

Classification to be no higher than: Secret

Form: Special report of considerable size

Date: Disseminated 1 July 1949

Prepared responsibilities: B/FE did it all

Departmental responsibilities: None

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

(See notes on back page for classification of subject matter)

~~SECRET~~

1. Ho Chi Minh
2. French Indo-China
3. Communism - French Indo-China

111-191

14 August 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, ORE  
FROM: Assistant Director, OCD  
SUBJECT: Intelligence Memoranda for Vital Document Repository

1. Annex A of the Plan for the Secure Storage of Vital Documents, dated 18 July 1950, Part II, paragraph 2, includes ORE Intelligence Memoranda as a series to be stored in the Vital Document Repository.

2. The CIA Library is charged with responsibility for assembling complete sets of CIA produced documents in the Repository. To date no issue of IM-191, disseminated 1 July 1949, has been located. The subject of this IM was Ho Chi Minh.

3. It is requested that distribution for all IM documents issued by ORE be increased by one additional for OCD. This additional copy of each issue will be placed in the Vital Documents Repository.

4. It is requested further that a copy of IM-191, referred to above, be provided as soon as possible.

25X1A

[REDACTED]  
JAMES M. ANDREWS

Aug 1950  
AD-27

~~SECRET~~

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

Liaison Branch, CGD

1 July 1969

Chief, Far East/Pacific Branch

Collection Report No. 65006 (Control No. IAD-197)

1. Material in fulfillment of this requirement has been delivered to the State Department.

2. B/PZ appreciates the cooperation of CGD in facilitating the collection of this material.

25X1A



100 705 A 10 31

CN21

cc. Req. Div.  
P & P

Approved For Release 2002/01/25 : CIA-RDP78-01617A000600020001-9

~~SECRET~~